

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 CU-04 ACDA-12 /071 W
-----001888 231819Z /47

O 231630Z FEB 78
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5408

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 1517

FOR JOHN KORNBLUM EUR/RPM FROM SPENCER OLIVER

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE
SUBJ: STATE OF PLAY OF DRAFTING ON FOLLOW-UP SECTION OF CONCLUDING
DOCUMENT

1. SOVIET STRATEGY OF STEADFASTLY REJECTING ANY FORMULATION
CONTAINING SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO DECISIONS OF PREPARATORY
MEETING PROVIDING BASIS FOR MADRID MEETING APPEARS TO BE
BEARING FRUIT. UPON ENTERING FOLLOW-UP CONTACT GROUP THIS
MORNING USDEL WAS APPRAISED BY DANISH REP (MELLBIN) THAT
EC-9 SUPPORT FOR SPECIFIC MENTION OF YELLOW BOOK PROCEDURES
WAS DWINDLING AND THAT SOME EC-9 AMBASSADORS EVEN
QUESTIONED UTILITY OF SUCH A SPECIFIC REFERENCE. THIS
IS YET ANOTHER INDICATION OF HOW US NON-PARTICIPATION
IN EC-9 CAUCUS MAKES IT EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO MAINTAIN
SUPPOSEDLY FIRM ALLIED POSITIONS IN THE FACE OF SOVIET
INTRANSIGENCE. AMB.MELLBIN HANDED US DRAFT OF POSSIBLE
WESTERN FALL-BACK POSITION ON QUESTION OF TASKS OF
NEXT PREPARATORY MEETING, WHICH IN OUR VIEW, IS
UNACCEPTABLE WITHOUT CERTAIN CAVEATS. TEXT IS AS
FOLLOWS: BEGIN TEXT: A PREPARATORY MEETING WILL BE
HELD AT MADRID AS FROM IT WILL DECIDE ON THE
DATE, THE DURATION, THE AGENDA, THE LEVEL, THE WORKING
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PROGRAM, AND OTHER MODALITIES OF THE MAIN MEETING. THESE
MEETINGS WILL BE HELD IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS
OF THE FINAL ACT AND WITH THE RELEVANT CSCE DOCUMENTS
ADOPTED IN CONSEQUENCE THEREOF. END TEXT

2. WE INSISTED, SUPPORTED BY THE CANADIANS THAT WE
MUST WORK TO PRESERVE AGENDA ITEM 4, THE THOROUGH

EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, AS WELL AS OTHER ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF THE YELLOW BOOK AND THAT THE ONLY WAY TO DO SO WOULD BE TO PRESERVE AT LEAST SOME SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE YELLOW BOOK PROCEDURES IN THE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. WE ALSO POINTED OUT THAT IF ALL REFERENCE TO YELLOW BOOK PROCEDURES WERE ELIMINATED, THIS MIGHT REINFORCE THE VIEW THAT THE BELGRADE MEETING HAD NOT BEEN A SUCCESS, PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OF AN IMPENDING SHORT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. THE NINE, OR AT LEAST THE DANES SEEM TO BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT IT IS USELESS TO INSIST ON SUCH A SPECIFIC REFERENCE IN VIEW OF THE ADAMANT SOVIET STANCE ON THIS ISSUE AND THAT THE BEST THAT CAN BE HOPED FOR IS A FORMULATIONS SIMILAR TO THE ABOVE TEXT.

3. DURING CONTACT GROUP ITSELF SOVIETS TOOK PREDICTABLE POSITION THAT THEY COULD ACCEPT NO EXPLICIT OR SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO APPLICABILITY OF THE DECISIONS OF THE PREPARATORY MEETING. INSTEAD THEY SUPPORTED THE FOLLOWING FORMULATION OF PROPOSED SECOND SENTENCE OF PARA REFERRING TO TASKS OF MADRID PREPARATORY MEETING, WITH INCLUSION OF REFERENCE TO FINAL ACT AT REQUEST OF ROMANIAN REP. BEGIN TEXT: THIS SHOULD BE DONE ON THE BASIS OF THE FINAL ACT AND OF ALL RELEVANT CSCE DOCUMENTS, AND IN LIGHT OF THE ACCUMULATED EXPERIENCE OF THE PREPARATORY MEETING AND THE MAIN BELGRADE MEETING. END TEXT.

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4. WITH THE DANES KEEPING IN THE BACKGROUND USDEL SUPPORTED BY CANADIANS TOOK LEAD IN ADVOCATING, ALBEIT RELUCTANTLY, FOLLOWING FORMULATION: BEGIN TEXT: THIS SHOULD BE DONE ON THE BASIS OF THE FINAL ACT AND OF ALL RELEVANT CSCE DOCUMENTS INCLUDING IN PARTICULAR THE DECISIONS OF THE PREPARATORY AND THE MAIN BELGRADE MEETING, AND IN THE LIGHT OF ACCUMULATED EXPERIENCE. END TEXT.

5. SOVIET REP (KONDRASHEV) INSISTED THAT HE COULD NOT ACCEPT EVEN AN ENUMERATION OF THE "RELEVANT CSCE DOCUMENTS", SINCE THIS IN HIS VIEW WOULD BE AN UNWIELDLY AND MISLEADING FORMULA. MAINTAINING THAT "EVERYBODY KNOWS" THAT ALL RELEVANT DOCUMENTS INCLUDE FINAL ACT, YELLOW BOOK, BLUE BOOK AND ANY DECISIONS OF EXPERT GROUPS, HE OBSERVED THAT AN ENUMERATION OF THEM WAS UNNECESSARY.

6. IN VIEW OF THE EXPERIENCE THIS SUMMER, IT IS NOT ENTIRELY UNLIKELY THAT THE FINAL SOVIET POSITION ON THIS QUESTION WILL BE TO INSIST ON THEIR FORMULATION CONTAINING REFERENCE TO "ALL RELEVANT CSCE DOCUMENTS," BUT WITH PROVISION FOR A CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENT TO THE

EFFECT THAT ALL RELEVANT CSCE DOCUMENTS INCLUDE
THE FINAL ACT, THE BLUE BOOK AND THE YELLOW BOOK.

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PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 CU-04 ACDA-12 /071 W
-----002153 231818Z /47

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 1517

7. ON THE QUESTION OF THE TIMING OF THE MADRID MEETINGS,
THE SOVIET REP INSISTED THAT THE BELGRADE MEETING
COULD ONLY FIX THE EXACT STARTING DATE OF THE
PREPARATORY MEETING. FOR THE MAIN MEETING IT COULD
INDICATE THE MONTH, BUT NOT THE PRECISE DAY, THIS BEING
A DECISION FOR THE MADRID PREPARATORY MEETING ITSELF.
DANISH REP SAID HE COULD ACCEPT THIS POSITION, WHILE
US, CANADIAN REPS REMAINED SILENT.

8. THE CONTACT GROUP ADJOURNED UNTIL TOMORROW WITH NO
MOVEMENT TOWARDS A RESOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF
DETERMINING THE TASKS OF THE MADRID PREPARATORY MEETING.
JUST PRIOR TO THE CLOSE OF THE SESSION, HOWEVER, THE SOVIET REP,
EMPLOYING WELL-KNOWN PRESSURE TACTICS, SUGGESTED THAT IF NO AGREE-
MENT ON THIS ISSUE WERE POSSIBLE, IT MIGHT BE NECESSARY FOR THE
BELGRADE MEETING TO END BY MERELY ESTABLISHING THE DATE
OF THE MADRID PREPARATORY ING ALLOWING
THAT MEETING TO HAVE "FREE REIN" TO DETERMINE THE
MODALITIES OF THE MAIN MEETING. ALL WESTERN REPS
PRESENT, INCLUDING SWEDES, REJECTED THIS ALTERNATIVE
POINTING TO FACT THAT POINT 5 OF YELLOW
BOOK, OBLIGATES BELGRADE MEETING TO "DEFINE APPROPRIATE
MODALITIES FOR HOLDING OF OTHER MEETINGS"

9. THIS SOVIET POLICY OF INTRANSIGENCE ON THE MATTER OF
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ADOPTING YELLOW BOOK PROCEDURES TO THE MADRID MEETING HAS, IN OUR VIEW SEVERAL OBJECTIVES. THEY WOULD LIKE TO DEVELOP A SCENARIO FOR A MADRID MEETING WHICH WOULD EITHER ELIMINATE OR MODIFY TO AS GREAT AN EXTENT AS POSSIBLE AGENDA ITEM 4, THE THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS. FURTHERMORE, THEY WOULD LIKE TO RE-OPEN THE QUESTION OF WHETHER 5 WORKING GROUPS ARE NECESSARILY THE BEST WAY TO PROVIDE FOR THIS EXCHANGE. IN ADDITION, THEY WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS AGAIN, THE MATTER OF DURATION WITH A VIEW TO PUTTING EVEN MORE PRESSURE FOR A PRECISE CLOSING DATE THAN THEY WERE ABLE TO ATTAIN AT BELGRADE. IN SHORT, IT SEEMS TO US THAT THE SOVIETS AT THE VERY LEAST WOULD LIKE, BY BEGINNING THE MADRID PREPARATORY MEETING FROM SCRATCH, TO REDUCE OR ELIMINATE THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS AT THE MAIN MEETING.

10. THE QUESTION OF THE TIMING OF THE MADRID MEETING MAY ALSO BE PROBLEMATIC FOR US. THE SOVIET POSITION HAS NOT ALTERED FROM A SEPTEMBER 1980 PREPARATORY MEETING AND AN OCTOBER-DECEMBER, 1980 MAIN MEETING. TODAY THE CANADIANS TOLD US THAT THEY WERE UNDER INSTRUCTIONS TO ACCEPT A STARTING DATE AS LATE AS POSSIBLE, PREFERABLY IN 1981, ALTHOUGH THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR ASSURED US THEY WOULD NOT BLOCK CONSENSUS ON EARLY 1980. IF, HOWEVER, SOVIET INTRANSIGENCE PERSISTS WE ARE LIKELY TO SEE MOST NATO DELS WAVER IN FAVOR OF TIMING CLOSE TO THE SOVIET POSITION.

11. FEB. 22 PLENARY WAS ABLE TO ADOPT ENTIRE FIRST PARA OF FOLLOW-UP SECTION OF CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. FOLLOWING TEXT WAS WRITTEN INTO NOTEBOOKS: BEGIN TEXT: IN CONFORMITY WITH THE RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT AND WITH THEIR RESOLVE TO CONTINUE
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CONCERNING THE CONTINUATION OF THE MULTI-LATERAL PROCESS INITIATED BY THE CSCE, THE PARTICIPATING STATES WILL HOLD MEETINGS AMONG THEIR REPRESENTATIONS AT APPROPRIATE INTERVALS. THE SECOND OF THESE MEETINGS WILL BE HELD IN MADRID AD FROM " END TEXT.

12. PHRASE "SUCCESSIVE MEETINGS" CONTAINED IN ROMANIAN AND DANISH NON-PAPERS WAS OMITTED AT INSISTENCE OF SOVIET REP, WHO POINTED OUT THAT PROVISION CALLING FOR SUCCESSIVE MEETINGS WAS ALREADY IN FINAL ACT.

13. COMMENT: SOVIET INTRANSIGENCE HAS CREATED AN

ATMOSPHERE OF FRUSTRATION AND DIS-
COURAGEMENT AMONG THE ALLIES RESULTING IN A DESIRE TO
BRING THE MEETING TO A QUICK END. THIS WORKS
TO SOVIET ADVANTAGE AND MAY RESULT IN A COMPLETE
ALLIED CAVE-IN TO SOVIET DEMANDS.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 23 feb 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978BELGRA01517
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780084-0507
Format: TEL
From: BELGRADE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780224/aaaaaudi.tel
Line Count: 230
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 046f9ed1-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 23 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3511423
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: STATE OF PLAY OF DRAFTING ON FOLLOW-UP SECTION OF CONCLUDING DOCUMENT
TAGS: OCON, CSCE
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/046f9ed1-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014